



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

increased burden of nearly a hundred millions a year upon the taxpayers. A hundred thousand soldiers is not comparatively and in the abstract a large number for a nation of seventy-six millions of people. This fact has been used with great skill in getting the new enactment made. But it will not be long until it will be urged that a hundred thousand men make a very insignificant army in comparison with the huge establishments of the Old World. The navy promoters were recently alarming themselves over the inadequacy of the navy to fight the war fleet of Germany, with whom they feel almost cocksure that we shall before long have to battle on the sea. The army managers will be up to the same folly as soon as the hundred thousand men now given them get well on their feet.

The possession of this new army power makes it more difficult than ever for the nation to draw back from the imperialistic course on which it has so recklessly started. Use must be found for it, and will without fail be found for it. Bad as the quadrupling of the regular army is in itself, with the squandering of nearly a hundred millions additional per year on it, it is much worse as a long step in the fixing of a disastrous and utterly unworthy militarism upon the country.

But it is useless to cry over spilt milk, we shall be told. The thing is done, and there is no help for it. If that be true, then so much the worse for the nation. But the figure of spilt milk is wrong. Another fits the case much better. If a deadly serpent had gotten into a man's house, he would not reason that there is no help for it. Especially would he bestir himself if there were another not far from the door ready to thrust his slimy length in. Not only ought the members of the deadly serpent brood of militarism which are still outside our national house to be kept out, but the ugly one already within ought to be slain and cast out. By-and-by the people will cast him out, but not, as it now seems, until he has bitten many of the children to death and greatly desolated the whole interior. At the present time his gleaming, beady eyes are beautiful and fascinating, and the children gather in their simplicity and look at him with breathless admiration, unwitting of the sad fate which awaits them when his fangs have been driven deep into their flesh.

Civilized Barbarism and Savagery.

In the early days of the war in South Africa, General Buller, then commander-in-chief, addressed a memorandum to General Joubert saying that the British would do no damage to Boer farmhouses, and asking that English property, the mines, etc., be in like manner respected. At the Hague Conference in 1899 Great Britain's representative solemnly signed a convention on the laws of war in which were found

these provisions: "It is forbidden to attack or bombard undefended towns, villages, dwellings or buildings. Any pressure on the population of occupied territory to take the oath to the hostile power is prohibited. Private property cannot be confiscated. Looting is formally forbidden. No collective penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be levied on populations by reason of individual incidents for which they could not be considered collectively responsible."

In the face of these solemn declarations and promises, what has happened? All the world now knows that not the least regard has been paid to them by the British forces. Lord Roberts seems never to have seen them, or if he had seen them, he deliberately ignored them.

Mr. John M. Robertson, well known in this country, has written to the *Westminster Review* the result of his personal observations in South Africa. He says that in the early days of the occupation of the Free State, the work of burning farms was systematically done. The order formula was: "Owner absent on Commando; burn his farm." About five hundred farms were burned in the southern part of the Free State alone. About ninety per cent. of these, he was told, were burned while their owners were prisoners of war. He saw an order of Lord Roberts directing that forty specified farms should be burned. He personally investigated a case in which a group of eight farms were burned at one operation, was told by a correspondent of a case where he was present at the burning of a group of sixteen, and heard of numerous cases where groups of four and five were destroyed at one operation. Farms, he learned, were burned wherever the generals thought it necessary to destroy the enemy's means of subsistence in a given district. A Colonial officer, who was with Buller on the march from Paardekop to Ermelo, told him that they burned every house on the march. Mr. Robertson's conclusion was that at least one-third and probably one-half of all the farms in the two republics had been burned, and that the claim that only those were burned from which the British troops had been fired on under a flag of truce was entirely false. De Wet and Steyn, in the proclamation recently issued, declare that *nearly all* the houses have been destroyed whether near railways or not.

In comparison with this conduct of the high-professing British in destroying farms and turning women and children out sobbing and helpless on the veldts, that of the Boers, even if the worst said of them be true, has been angelic. They nearly uniformly protected the property of the English until after the British troops had done these things, and how comparatively little they have retaliated even since! It is no wonder that the Boer men who remain, whose habitations have perished, are in the field against the British determined to drive out the merciless invaders or perish to the last man.

In a broadside entitled "Hell let Loose," W. T. Stead publishes a letter from an English officer of the regular army in command in South Africa, which corroborates all Mr. Robertson says and goes much beyond him. We digest it as follows: "War scrapes off the veneer of civilization and returns men to their primitive savagery. General conventions, customs of civilized war, respect for women, tenderness to children, the common phrases in England, are treated by the English troops as foolish cant, binding on them only when they do not impede their purposes. The state of affairs is kept by censorship from those at home. Short shrift would be made of the special correspondents if they dared even to sketch with the slightest touch the darker scenes of the war. As soon as the British troops entered the Free State and the Transvaal every house from which the inhabitants were absent was ruthlessly destroyed. A house costing three or four thousand dollars was often destroyed in an hour to cook the breakfast of a battalion. Even homes of British subjects which had been respected by the Boers were destroyed. Doors, windows and pews of churches were broken up to cook the dinners. Fowls, pigs, sheep, horses, cattle, carriages, were swept away. Every general and officer's mess had their looting scouts. Beds, chairs, tables, all things movable, were piled on wagons and carried off. Every principle of civilized warfare was thrown to the winds. Lord Roberts' proclamations were unwise, ineffective and cruel. The neutrality oath was an effort to seduce Boer soldiers from the army, and worked great mischief. On the bare word of a Kafir, the stock and every movable thing on farms were swept away, and women and children left to starve. An old rifle found on the premises led to the burning of the house. The reprisals for cutting railways were savage and vengeful, everything being destroyed for miles around. English officers gloated over the burning of farms."

Worst of all, this officer says, has been the driving of women and girls to shame, by starvation. "When women live on the charity of a camp it is needless to describe to what depths of infamy necessity soon reduces them." "These horrors will sooner or later draw the vengeance of God on the perpetrators." "An empire built on such deeds cannot last, and we may well tremble to think that an emissary may soon be selected from among the nations to devastate as an avenging angel the homes of England."

This officer further says: "That we should force the surrender of our enemies by starving their children and degrading their wives and daughters is surely a barbarity that no European nation, except the Turks, would be guilty of at the end of the nineteenth century of the Christian era."

Alas! he had not heard the news from China. The doings of the international army there show that, in this tide of barbarism which is surging over the

world, every one of the great powers of Europe has fallen as low as Great Britain, some of them lower. Dr. E. J. Dillon's eye-witness revelations in the January *Contemporary Review* are almost past reading: "No quarter given to Chinese regular soldiers; no prisoners taken; wounded enemies put to death like venomous serpents; thousands of defenseless and well-meaning Chinamen slaughtered in cold blood; Chinese girls and women raped first and bayoneted afterwards 'by men whose governments were wrapping themselves up in the soft wool of Mary's little lamb'; houses robbed, wrecked and wantonly ruined; massacre in cold blood of three hundred coolies at Taku; men, women, boys, girls, babies, shot, stabbed and hewn to bits in the streets; day after day, hour after hour, bloated corpses drifting down the current of the river; over and over again the gutters of cities running red with gore; dead bodies in shops, houses, courtyards, everywhere; wives and daughters hanging themselves on trees to escape defilement; scenes of grim, satanic humor in looting."

Other eyewitnesses writing to British and Continental journals confirm Dr. Dillon's ghastly revelations.

When all these outrages, horrors and cruelties in South Africa, China, and earlier in the Philippines, are thrown together, they make an indictment against the civilized world which, considering the present state of light and knowledge, has never been paralleled. They have been done under the loud pretense of the desire to extend civilization! They are enough in themselves, to say nothing of the hypocrisy behind them, to bring the entire peoples of these nations on their faces in the dust, with agonizing cries of shame and prolonged entreaties for mercy at the hands of God.

But instead of such humiliation and shame, what do we see? The governments whose officers and men have been guilty of these grewsome crimes show no signs of pain or even concern because of them. They coolly push on the schemes in the execution of which these diabolical deeds are performed. The people in large numbers (not all the people, thank God) are utterly unmoved by them. They support their governments and armies with an incredible complacency of soul, and continue lightly to make abstract arguments for the goodness of war. There seems to be a great hardening of heart everywhere. Conscience, tenderness of moral feeling, humaneness of spirit, are overwhelmed by the prevailing materialism, brutalism and lust of dominion. Hell has indeed been let loose, and it is taken as the natural and proper thing. Every horror, every crime is condoned because war is on, and soldiers are not expected to be "plaster saints," as the poet-laureate of the dominant brutalism flippantly ejaculates.

Because war is on! That explains it all. War makes all things lawful! Moral considerations are eliminated. Might is the only law. Savagery rides back into power. And what does brutal savagery

care for men, or women, or children? Victory must be won, even if in the last extremity, every vestige of the enemy — his person, his rights and his property — has to be swept away. It has always been so with war; it always will be so. It is just as impossible for civilized nations to wage civilized warfare as it is for savages. All war is savagery, the civilized nations themselves being the last and chief witnesses.

Appeal for Contributions.

At the opening of the new century the American Peace Society finds its work of such increased importance and promise that it feels itself justified, not only in asking its friends for their usual annual contributions, but in laying before them the urgent need of much larger funds for its further and more efficient development.

The successful establishment of the Permanent International Court of arbitration, for which the society has worked steadily and earnestly for more than sixty years, gives the cause of international peace a standing in public appreciation and confidence such as it has never known before. This indicates also the direction in which future practical peace efforts may be most wisely put forth. General public confidence in the court must be created. The governments must be induced to have regular recourse to it in the settlement of their controversies. They must be led to make special treaties between them to this end. The nations not represented at The Hague must be brought in some way into the enjoyment of the benefits of the court. Here is a wide, important and urgent field of work for many years to come.

General interest in the cause of international peace needs to be greatly widened and deepened everywhere. The spirit of international aggression and injustice, still so strong and ruinous, must be broken down. Love, trust and fellowship between races and nations are still deplorably weak, and need endless encouragement and strengthening. Old grudges and causes of misunderstanding remain to be removed. The evil effects of recent events will entail an incalculable amount of labor in their eradication.

In all these directions the society desires to be able to meet efficiently its increased opportunities and responsibilities. The coming summer it expects to be represented at the Tenth International Peace Congress to be held at Glasgow, Scotland, during the Exposition, and it hopes also to have a representative in the City of Mexico at the time of the Pan-American Conference, which has been arranged for by Secretary of State Hay.

Liberal contributions for the immediate needs of the work are earnestly solicited, and our friends are kindly invited to bear in mind, in the final distribution of their property by will, the American Peace Society, and the unsurpassed interests of the cause for which it labors.

Editorial Notes.

In an article on "Society's Defense Against the Criminal," in the January number of the *Albany Law Journal*, Hon. Gino C. Speranza of the New York Bar speaks as follows of the relation of war to criminality:

"Nor must it be forgotten, especially at this period of our country's history, that war always means an increase in criminality; especially is this true of wars of conquest or against a greatly inferior enemy. War, no matter how glorified, is the negation of the principles of justice and reason and the assertion that might makes right. The opportunities which it offers for the exercise of heroic qualities cannot compensate for the evil influence which it exerts on those among us who need but a slight stimulus to break the restraints of law and order. That war, in its train of horrors, carries also an impulse to greater wrong doing and non-observance of law, is not a mere supposititious statement, but an undeniable fact. While it is true that during the actual continuance of hostilities crimes against the person are often on the decrease (because men of violence join the ranks of legalized violence called the 'army') after the cessation of hostilities there is always observable a marked increase in the number of offenses of all kinds. This is not surprising if we remember that, besides its demoralizing influence, war also means a diminished interest in the administration of justice and in the enforcement of laws, and a weakening of the defensive strength of the state against its internal foes.

"When we bear in mind that during war periods the ratio between the births of males and females is disturbed by a perceptible increase in the number of males, we can begin to appreciate how far-reaching must be the influence of the war spirit on all social conditions; how, if it affects even the process of physiological forces, it must, *a fortiori*, affect the products of social and psychic causes such as crimes."

During the debate in the House on the army appropriation bill, Representative McClellan of New York made a comparison of the war budgets of the United States, Austria, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. The statistics which he brought forward showed that the total annual cost of army and navy in Austria is, in round numbers, *seventy-four* millions of dollars, of France *one hundred and ninety* millions, of Germany *one hundred and eighty-eight* millions, of Italy *sixty-two* millions, of Russia *one hundred and forty-eight* millions, of the United States, at the present time, *two hundred and thirty-three* millions. The per capita cost for each is: Austria one dollar and sixty-six cents, France four dollars and ninety-two cents, Germany three dollars and sixty cents, Italy one dollar and ninety-seven, Russia one dollar and fourteen cents, the United States three dollars and three cents. Our annual war budget, therefore, exceeds by